Please Keep for Reference.

Facts for the People

No. 1.

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FEBRUARY 1st, 1896.

Copies of this pamphlet can be had from Alexander Smith, Secretar Ontario Liberal Association, 34 Victoria Street, Toronto.

"On the way hither: ten cases Australian butter, four cases tinned Australian meat, one case Australian honey, one case Australian wool."

The following letter from Fraser, Viger & Co., of Montreal, shows how this trade is competing with Canadian products:

"MONTREAL, Dec. 6th, 1895.

"J. Lockie Wilson, Esq.:

"Dear Sir,—Your order received to-day for consignment of cans of Australian mutton, which I beg to advise will go by to-night's express to your address as above. Please take notice that we are prepared to fill unlimited orders for roast, boiled and corned Australian mutton; also Australian rabbit, excellently put up, and hardly distinguishable from chicken. Yours truly,

"FRASER, VIGER & CO."

At the Expense of the Canadian Farmer.

These are the first fruits of the new policy of the Canadian Government for developing trade with the Australasian colonies, with two steamers, with a monthly service, at a cost to the Canadian people for bounties of $125,000 a year. What is it likely to be five or ten years hence, with lines of steamers on the Atlantic and Pacific sustained by yearly grants of $1,500,000 to provide cheap carriage for beef, mutton, pork, tallow, lard, wool, cheese, butter, apples, breadstuffs, and other agricultural products from Australia and New Zealand to Canada and Great Britain?

Now, we ask any fair-minded person whether Canada should use the public money of her people to pay for running vessels from Australia to Canada and England to carry Australian products to compete with our own farm products and thus ruin Canadian farming? By bad management the Government caused England to schedule Canadian cattle, and now they are using Canadian money largely collected from the farmers to enable the Australians to undersell the Canadian farmers in England, and even in Canada, in beef, mutton, wool, tallow, hides, pork, apples, canned meats, cheese, butter, etc. When this scheme is completed, we ask, in serious earnestness, what is to become of the Canadian farmer?

As if to further handicap the Canadian farmer our Government allows a drawback of ninety-nine per cent. on all duties on dutiable materials used in the manufacture of agricultural implements and exported to Australasia or elsewhere, so that the Canadian farmer has to pay the full duty whilst the Australian farmer can buy the same implements, by paying only one-hundredth part of the duty; and, in addition, he has the advantage of cheap freights on the implements, because of the Canadian subsidy to steamers.

Slandering England.

"He (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) told us that the British nation under free trade is no longer able to compete with the civilized nations of Europe, but that she is driven to spend millions upon her army and her navy in order to force her trade upon unwilling savages in the uncivilized countries of the world."

Some hon. MEMBERS. "Oh, oh."

Mr. LAURIER. "Yes; here is the language used by the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper):

Driven from the civilized markets of the world, steadily and every year finding their outputs to those markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy, and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods, and their merchandise, into the uncivilized markets of the world.

Sir, I never yet heard the fair name of the great nation so slandered and insulted. At least I never heard the name of England so insulted by a man of English blood."—*Hon. Wilfrid Laurier on the Budget, 1894.*

Supporters of the Government at Ottawa boast that protection ideas are growing in England, and Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, speaking in the House of Commons, Jan. 16th, 1896, as reported in Hansard, said: "Have we not been told by the hon. gentleman, amidst the cheers of his friends beside him, that Great Britain is going back to protection—that England is to be for the English as Canada is for the Canadians. Why, if the eighty men in the English House of Commons who are in favor of protection can impose their

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will on that House, England will be a protectionist country such as Canada is now. And in such event, what kind of a market will England be for our products, if our products are treated there as British products are treated in this country? What kind of a market will that be for us where the products of Canadian farmers are met by a wall in England just as the products of English manufacturers are met by a wall in Canada? This is the policy which is cheered by hon. gentlemen opposite—a policy which, if adopted by Great Britain, they would forever deplore, and the unfortunate day when it was adopted for ever rue."

The farmers will agree with Mr. Laurier that a duty on what they sell to England would be very injurious to them.

Scandals by the Dozen on Public Works.

ST. CHARLES' BRANCH RAILWAY, (14 miles):—Promised cost, $136,000 expended upon it $1,740,000; outstanding claims, $20,719; cost of road itself, $822,000; cost of land damages, over $900,000.

TAY CANAL, (6 miles):—Estimated cost, $132,660; expended upon it, $476,128; revenue for 1894, $126; cost of maintenance 1894, $2,458.

LITTLE RAPIDS LOCK:—Contract estimate of cost, $86,680; paid to contractor, $260,000; contractor's claims still unpaid, $61,000; no traffic and no receipts from the work.

GALOPS RAPIDS CHANNEL, (Cornwall Canal):—Contract price, $306,600; paid to contractors, $446,500; contractors' claims still unpaid, $130,000; the Minister of Canals stated in Parliament after the work was taken over that no one would use it.

SHIEKS ISLAND DAM, (Cornwall Canal):—The original contract was cancelled and a work abandoned, upon which $155,000 of money was absolutely thrown away. The new work was given to a favored firm of contractors without tenders who have been allowed $22,500 over their contract price.

LANGEVIN BLOCK:—Estimate of cost less than $500,000; already paid, $781-000; outstanding claims, $250,000; Contractor Charlebois had following clause put into the contracts which other contractors on the building had with Government: "The contractors will agree to bind themselves to buy the right of way from the contractor Mr. Charlebois."

CONNOLLY-McGREEVY WORKS:—Cost to contractors of work, $2,184,259; cost to country, $3,138,234; contractors' profits, $953,975; loss to country after deducting fair profit, $700,000.

PRINTING BUREAU SCANDAL:—Senecal's commissions on purchases for supplies and machinery, $50,000.

CURRAN BRIDGE:—Estimated cost, $123,000; Government Commission's estimate of reasonable cost, $160,000; actual cost, $430,000; stolen from the country, $270,000; Judge Desnoyers decided that Government's contract with contractor St. Louis was so drawn that he had lived up to it.

Campaign contributions paid by Senator Ross and Mr. Beemer to Sir Adolphe Caron and recouped by subsidy to the Lake St. John Railway, $50,000.

FREDERICTON AND ST. MARY'S BRIDGE:—Paid up capital of company, $20,000; Government loan at 4 per cent., $300,000; Government bonus, $30,000; total cost of bridge, $418,000; floating debt of bridge, $19,000; interest due the Government upon loan since 1888, $66,000; total amount public money sunk in this private speculation, $396,000.

CARAQUET RAILWAY:—$224,000 of public money has been sunk in this sink hole. The road is not paying running expenses, and the public expenditure which was incurred for election purposes and nothing else is a total loss.

SAMPLES OF CURRAN BRIDGE WAGES, ETC., PAID BY GOVERNMENT.

$4 a day for foreman.
$6 a day for foreman for night or over-time.
$8 a day for foreman on Sunday.
$12 a day for foreman on Sunday over-time.
$5 a day for team.
$10 a day for team on Sunday.

$2.50 a day for derrick.
$3.75 a day for derrick for over time.
$7.50 a day for derrick for over time on Sunday.
St. Louis puts on all the men he wishes and gets paid for them.
2,000 men on the works at one time.
Large numbers idle.
No Government time-keeper.
No regular count.
No Government foreman.
No Government supervision.
No Government record of men or materials.
No Government classification of labor.
Unskilled labor paid for as skilled labor.
No public tenders for timber.
Inferior timber supplied.
Carters delivery tickets for lumber, etc., missing.
No checks as to quality of timber and lumber supplied.
Large quantities missing.
New timber burnt as firewood, carted away, stolen, etc.
Government teams haul lumber that contractor was to deliver.
$39,806.04 paid for $6,000 worth of stone cutting.
$16,715 paid for $3,000 worth of stone cutting.
Stone hauled by team 20 miles along railway, running from quarry to works.
Government warned all along of the frauds but allow them to continue.
Pays bills as they come in.
When work completed Government issue commission to investigate.
Pending investigation, Government pays St. Louis balance of $105,000 for wages that Chief Engineer discredited and would not certify to.
Commission unanimously report incompetence, extravagance and fraud.
People's money lost.
No one held responsible.

How the trick was done.

We will quote from the Montreal *Gazette* of the 14th May, 1895, a statement made by Judge Desnoyers upon the application of the Solicitor-General with respect to the suit against the character of the Curran bridge for a refund of money which the Solicitor-General claimed he had got unfairly from this Government. Let us call attention to some of the details of that transaction. It related to two bridges across the Lachine Canal and the Grand Trunk Railway. The Government engineer's first estimate of the cost of completing these bridges was $160,000. But they proposed to make certain changes, to enable them to deepen the canal and improve the works, and the highest figure which the Government's own engineer gave as the cost of the work was $223,000. Although the work was within two or three hour's run by rail of the headquarters of the Government at Ottawa, what did they do? They paid $394,000 for that work which their own engineer had estimated would cost $223,000, and then they instituted a suit against their own contractors to try to get $170,000 out of him. Let me make a few quotations from the statement of the judge upon the evidence placed before him with respect to the terms of the contract made by the Department with the contractor, Mr. St. Louis. Here is a specimen of the wages which this precious economical Government contracted to pay to that contractor: A stonecutter foreman was allowed $4 a day for day time and $6 for night time $8 a day for Sunday, and $12 a day for Sunday overtime. . . . A double team got $5 a day, and when religiously at work on Sunday, it got $10. What else do we find? We find that a derrick was worth $2.50 in the day time, but the same instrument was worth $3.75 at night, and it was a religious derrick, because when it had to work on Sunday its conscience had to be appeased by giving it $7.50. That was the contract made under the supervision of the Minister right in Ottawa. We are not speaking of what occurred outside, but of the contract that these gentlemen made with Mr. St. Louis. He went to work to carry out that contract. What does the judge say in addition? He says:

"And on the same scale for stonemasons, stonesetters and skilled laborers, Mr. St. Louis' bills must have been tremendous, when it is remembered the job lasted four months, and that at times there were 2,000 men at work in the day-time, and 1,500 men at work at night. The men were paid alternately every week. Mr. Michaud tells us that some of the pays amounted to $34,000, some $10,000, some $15,000 and some $20,000.'

And yet that went on for sour months, although all that time the Minister and his responsible subordinates could have left Ottawa and run down to the work any afternoon, inspected what was going on, and mode things right. That went on until, instead of paying out $233,000, the Government paid nearly $400,000, and yet they ask us to believe that they did not know anything about it, and that the whole thing was economically administered. Let any hon. gentleman go to Ontario and present those figures to the electorate and try to make them believe that this expenditure was a really honest, just and fair expenditure of public money. When we find that the contractor dostroyed his books because his safe was not big enough to hold them after he got through, and when we find him declaring under oath that he had given contributions to aid the party in power, need we go any further to find a reason why this extravagance was allowed to go on unchecked? What did the judge say? Did he instruct Mr. St. Louis to pay back this money? No; he goes on to say:

"There was no proper surveillance by the officers of the Government on two of the jobs at least, viz., the Grand Trunk bridge and lock No. 1 of the Lachine canal. The time-keeping on the two latter jobs seems to have been left to take care of itself, as far as the Government officers were concerned, so much so that two prominent public officers, high in office, lost their situation on that account. Mr. St. Louis procured all the workmen that were asked of him. He did not keep time personally, he had several clerks to do it, and one of them stuffed the lists. This was sworn to by himself, to his own disgrace; and when these lists were so made and cooked, they were certified blindly and as a matter of form by the officers of the Government."

And yet this is the Government which undertakes to tell us that they are administering the affairs of the country carefully.

How to Spend Money.

Geo. R. R. Cockburn, Conservative M. P. for Centre Toronto, acted as Canadian Commissioner at the World's Fair, Chicago, in 1893, and if any one doubts that he had a pleasant summer at the expense of the Canadian people let him read his bill for expenses brought down in detail before the Public Accounts Committee, House of Commons, Ottawa. Below the total expenditure is given with a few extracts from the bill.

World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago; George R. R. Cockburn, Commissioner: 1893.

April 28 and 29, expenses from Toronto to Ottawa and return	$20 00
May 22 and 29, expenses, Toronto to Chicago, and while there and return; hotel bill, $30.70	79 74
May 31, June 2, expenses, Toronto to Ottawa, thence to Montreal to meet Hon Mr. Angers and Mr. Tasse	47 40
June 10, November 4, 148 days, including extra supplies for Canadian Pavilion, cabs, railway fares, porterage, exhibition entrances, extra dinners, sundries, etc.; express charges, cigars for pavilion, etc.	957 08
	$1,104 22
Hotel bills as vouchers	$3,320 00
Total	$4,425 00

I hereby certify that the item of expenditure of $957.08, for which I have no vouchers was wholly for the service of the Commissioner in connection with the pavilion during the Columbian Exposition, in the particulars stated.

(Signed) Geo. R. R. Cockburn.

Ottawa, April, 1894.

NOTE.—The reader should bear in mind that the position held by Mr. Cockburn was of an honorary kind and the actual work of getting the Canadian exhibits to Chicago was attended to by other commissioners who had to incur extra expenditure for travel, etc. before the fair began. Their expenses cannot be considered in the same light as Mr. Cockburn's. They had both work and responsibility.

The Virginia Hotel Co.

Oct. 13, 1893.

The Virginia Hotel, Chicago:
Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, Dr.

To express charges, 25c.; drugs, 40c. and 35c.	$1 00
" paid cab men, 50c. and 75c. and 50c. and $1.50.	3 25
" order for salmon, 75c.; messenger, 25c.	1 00
" theatre tickets, $9.75; shoes blacked, 50c	10 25
" telegram, 40c.; C.O.D. Fields, $1.20	1 60
	$17 10
Paid	10 50
	$ 6 60

The Virginia Hotel Co.

Oct. 14, 1883.

The Virginia Hotel, Chicago:
To G. R. R. Cockburn, Dr.

To board from 9-30 to 10-14, two weeks	$224 00
To wines and liquors; extra meals	$61 10
" laundry, including borrowed table linen, and washing it	18 10
" livery	25 50
" news stand	23
Paid.	$328 93

The Virginia Hotel Co.

July 15, 1893.

The Virginia Hotel, Chicago:
Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, Dr.

To board from 7-8 to 7-15, one week at $20 a day	$140 00
" extra meals, wines and liquors	33 20
" laundry	1 65
" livery	5 00
" cash paid to have hat pressed	1 00
" cash paid to news stand	50
" cash paid for flowers	3 80
" cash paid cabman	1 25
Paid August 12, 1893.	$186 40

The Virginia Hotel Co.

With Lavish Hand.

A glance at the Auditor-General's report for any year will show other examples of how to spend money. The examples given below are from the report for the year ending June 30th, 1894, and can be found in section P of the report. It will be noticed that civil servants charge for rent of rooms at Ottawa when they are away, though all their travelling expenses are paid, and some go so far as to charge for wear and tear of clothes.

Desrochers, R. C., private secretary, 27 trips ($778.03)—

Cabs: to Ottawa station, $26.75; stations to hotels, $21.50; hotels to stations, $18.85; sundry, $54; from Ottawa station, $20.75	$141 85
Single fares: Ottawa and Montreal, 46 at $3.50, $161; sundry, $68.70	229 70
Fares to New York, March 28, and return, $22; to Calumet and return, two at $3.10	28 20
Pullmans, $49.00; porters, $13.25; steamers, $5	67 25
Telegrams, $15.28; 'phones, $1.05; stationery, $1.00	17 33
Ry. to Chicago Fair grounds, $1.50; entrance-tickets to World's Fair, $3	4 50
Board, $255.20; American postage, $2	257 20
Sundries not divided (waiters, bell-boys, papers, &c., in early accounts)	14 40
Waiters, porters, bell-boys, car boys, $9.15; newspapers, $3.05	12 20
Barber, $1.30; laundry, $1.50; cleaning boots, $1.60; 2 books, $1	5 40

Dionne, Octave, accountant, 11 trips ($300.35)—

Cabs: office to house, $4; to Ottawa station, $5; stations to hotels, $11.25; hotels to stations, $12; sundry, $60.05; from Ottawa station, $9.50	101 80
Single fares, $93.15, Pullmans, $16; porters, 6, $8.20; tolls, 30c	117 65
Steamers, $8; boat-hire, $3.20; ferries, 66c.; 'phones, 65c	12 51
Telegrams, $3.44; envelopes, 25c.; room for paying men, 50c	4 19
Board, $49.40; shaving, 30c.; shining boots, $1	50 70
Wear and tear of coat and suit, Sept. 16 to October 2, 1893	6 00
Foreman at Eboulements, C. Bouchard, 3 days at $2.50	7 50

St. Laurent, Arthur (headquarters at Winnipeg), 9 trips from Ottawa ($384.10)—

Cabs: to Ottawa station, $6.50; from Ottawa station, $7.50; sundry, $44.75	58 75
Single fares, $56.90; Pullmans, $15; car and hotel porters, $9	80 90

Return tickets: Ottawa and Pembroke, $6.30; Ottawa and Buckingham, $1.60; Montreal and Ste. Rose, $1	8 90
Horse hire, $45; steamers, $11.35; laborers, $9.50	$65 85
Board, $140.45; telegrams, $9.25; stamps, $1	150 70
Boat hire, $3.75; express, 95c.; ferries, 30c	5 00
Rent of room at Ottawa for clothes and trunk while away, at $3 a week	14 00

Outside Lawyers' Fees.

In addition to the tremendous increase in the expenditure of every department of the Government, there is behind them all and beyond all their salaries and contingencies, a further source of extra patronage and extravagance. It is to be found under the head of "Legal expenses and taxed costs," in the Auditor-General's Report. No doubt a certain amount of this expenditure is forced upon a Government, but it is unreasonably high. An examination of the Auditor-General's Reports for the past ten years shows that an average of $100,000.00 a year is paid in "Legal Expenses and Taxed Costs." Bear in mind that this does not include the amount necessary to carry on the regular administration nor does it bear the same relationship to the Department of Justice as the expenses necessary for conducting the work of the Crown in Provincial matters. It is a gross scandal that while the new office of Solicitor-General has been created at Ottawa with a salary of $5,000 per annum, an outside lawyer in the City of Ottawa, Mr. D. O'Connor, whose office is not 200 yards distant from the Solicitor-General's Office, should have been paid for legal services for the Government in the year ending 30th June, 1893, the enormous sum of $19,248.32.

The sum paid to Mr. O'Connor for the year ending 30th June, 1894, was $19,850.48. This lawyer gets each year in fees a sum equal in value to about five farms though the country employed for some time a Solicitor-General at $5,000.00 to attend to legal work.

Money for Printing, etc.

Many newspapers throughout the Dominion must sing the praises of the Goveanment, no matter what the conduct of the Ministers may be, or suffer the loss of patronage. Though there is a Government Printing Bureau at Ottawa yet enormous sums are yearly paid to newspapers and other printing establishments in all sections of the country. The money thus lavishly spent does not include the printing done for Returning Officers, the charges for printing the lists, or the work done in the Government Printing Bureau at Ottawa. The Auditor-General's Report will show that on an average over $250,000.00 is expended each year in this way. This is over 50 farms a year.

The Superannuation Abuse.

The system of superannuating civil servants, began in 1871, was based upon the idea that after a public official had become feeble and worn out he should be retired from the public service and his place filled by an efficient substitute. A fund was created to supply which two per cent. of the salaries of civil servants was retained. In 1871 the receipts of this fund amounted to $50,000 and the expenditure to only $13,000. In 1893 the receipts were $64,433 and the expenditure $263,710. In 1894 there was paid into this fund $63,974, while there was paid out of it the enormous sum of $262,302.

In the twenty-three years since the inauguration of the system we have paid $2,500,000 over and above the receipts.

The total number on the superannuation list on the 30th June, 1893, was 551. Of these, 173 were under the age of sixty, which is the limit fixed by the Act, and below which the Government is not supposed to go unless for very special reasons; seventy-three were under the age of fifty.

The needy followers of the Government, and some who are not needy, have had to be provided for, and the superannuation system has been used to provide places for

hungry followers. Mr. Dansereau, a leading Montreal Conservative, desired the postmastership of that city, and Mr. Lamothe, the postmaster, was superannuated. He was entitled to a retiring allowance of $1,360, but the Government added eight years to his time, and Mr. Lamothe is drawing $2,000 a year and Mr. Dansereau is receiving as postmaster $4,000, which makes the cost of that office $6,000 a year.

Mr. Robert Wallace, postmaster at Victoria, B.C., strenuously resisted being superannuated, but his place was wanted for Mr. Shakespeare, then a member of Parliament. To quiet Mr. Wallace eight years was added to his length of service, and he is now living in England drawing a pension of $1,300 a year and Mr. Shakespeare is doing his work at a salary of $2,000 a year.

Mr. Charles Thibeault was appointed Secretary of the Board of Dominion Arbitrators, a sinecure, and after drawing $2,000 a year for nine years was superannuated at the age of forty-nine on a pension of $760 a year.

Mr. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, was superannuated in 1893 at the age of fifty-seven against his will and against his strong protest that his health was quite good. In order to force him to apply for superannuation the Minister threatened him that it would be worse for him if he did not, but if he did all would be made right. (See official letter from Minister, June 28, 1893, page 4326, Commons Hansard, 1894.) Mr. Vankoughnet is now living in England drawing $2,112 a year for the rest of his life. The reason Mr. Vankoughnet was forced out was to supply Mr. Hayter Reed with the position. Mr. Reed is the gentleman who was chiefly responsible for the looting of furs after the Northwest rebellion, but he sheltered himself behind General Middleton and destroyed a letter which convicted him of complicity in that disgraceful affair.

Mr. Trudeau, Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, was superannuated against his will on an allowance of $3,756 a year.

H. A. Whitney, Mechanical Superintendent of the Intercolonial Railway, was superannuated at the age of fifty-eight, and Mr. A. S. Busby, of the same road, at the age of fifty-four, on allowances respectively of $1,280 and $I,000 a year.

Mr. John Tilton, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, was superannuated at the age of fifty-five, and can be seen any day in Ottawa, a strong, healthy, vigorous man in the prime of life; yet he is drawing a pension reserved for sick, feeble and aged persons, of $1,536.

During the five years of the Mackenzie Government the receipts of this fund averaged more than $40,000 a year and the payments were under $100,000, whereas we are now only receiving $64,000 and paying out $263,000, a deficit of $200,000 a year.

On May 22nd, 1883, Sir Leonard Tilley moved the third reading of Bill (No. 91) to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to the superannuation of persons employed in the Civil Service of Canada. To this G. W. Ross, Liberal M. P. (Middlesex), moved the following amendment: "That the Bill be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole to amend the same so as to provide (with due regard to the rights of those who have been already admitted to the Superannuation List) for the abolition of the present system and the substitution of a plan whereby a percentage of the salary of each civil servant shall be retained and placed to his credit and shall be payable to him with interest on his quitting the service, or to his family in case of his death in the service." This amendment was negatived by the Conservatives on the following division: Yeas, 47; Nays, 100. (Hansard, Vol. II., p. 1364.)

A resolution moved by Mr. James McMullen, Liberal M. P., North Wellington, Ont., in Parliament during the session of 1894, declaring that the Superannuation Act had been administered by the Government in a loose and unjustifiable manner, and that the system as now established should be abolished, was voted down by 91 to 55, every Conservative in the House voting against it.

The Liberals disclaimed any intention of interfering under that resolution with the rights of those who have paid money into the fund, but they held that it was unfair to the laboring men and to the farmers of this country that they should continue to be taxed $200,000 a year to keep half a thousand men idle, when half of them are well able to work, and when scores of them are living a life of ease in foreign lands, drawing fat pensions from the Canadian taxpayers.

A few examples showing how the present Act works are given below :

UP TO 30TH JUNE, 1892.

Name.	Paid in.	Drew out.
1 Geo. Tutooye	$420 00	$38,018 93
2 Nomas Goddard	550 83	20,020 00
3 E. C. Haydon	122 00	17,471 00
4 John Kidd	576 58	15,670 00
5 R. Kimber	275 71	18,004 00
6 John Langton	847 00	37,803 00
7 J. P. Leprohon	466 00	14,518 00
8 Joseph Leslie	584 34	32,777 00
9 Peter Le Sueur	487 42	15,070 00
10 E. A. Meredith	639 25	34,440 00
11 F. M. Passon	69 33	20,149 00
12 Alfred Pattrick	*Nil.*	27,568 00
13 J. P. Rubige	96 00	34,322 00
14 A. Woodgate	324 00	23,780 00
15 J. A. Hunworth	367 50	13,838 00
	$5,825 96	$383,448 00

Sixty-four dollars drawn out for every one paid in—a good investment surely, but is it business ?

Why Debt has Increased.

These are but a few of the examples of waste and extravagance, and can any one wonder at the debt increasing from $140,000,000 (in round numbers) in 1878 to the enormous figure of $253,000,000 (in round numbers) at June 30th, 1895 ?

The annual expenditure in 1877-78 was $23,503,158, and in 1895 over $38,-000,000.00.

Though we have had increased taxation, which is a burden to the people, there have been deficits since 1878 as follows :—

1879	$1,937,999	1888	$ 810,031
1880	1,543,227	1894	1,210,332
1885	2,240,058	1895	4,153,875
1886	5,834,571		

It takes one-half the total customs duties collected in Canada to pay the charges on the debt.

Great Loss of Population.

The Census Returns show that excluding altogether the 886,000 immigrants who came to Canada during the ten years. 1881 to 1891, there should have been an increase of population by natural increase alone (calculated at two per cent. a year) of not less than 900,000. The actual increase was in round figures 500,000. The loss in native born population was, therefore, in the ten years 400,000. If to this, however, be added the 886,000 immigrants who, according to the statistics of the department of agriculture were brought into this country during these ten years at a cost of, according to the Public Accounts, page vii., about $3,000,000, the actual exodus from Canada during the ten years, 1881 to 1891, amounted to over 1,200,000 persons, or 120,000 each year. The United States census agrees with ours in this regard and shows that of every male born in Canada, between the ages of twenty and fifty years, one in three is found in the United States.

The following table is compiled from the census returns by the Dominion Statistician, Johnson, and published in the statistical year book for 1893, p. 119 :

POPULATION OF CANADA, 1871, 1881 AND 1891.

Provinces.	1871:	1881.	Increase per cent.	1891.	Increase per cent.
Ontario	1,620,851	1,926,922	18.6	2,114,321	9.73
Quebec	1,191,516	1,359,027	14.0	1,488,535	9.53
Nova Scotia	387,800	440,572	13.6	450,396	2.23
New Brunswick	285,594	321,233	12.4	321,263	none.
Manitoba	18,995	62,260	247.2	152,506	144.95
British Columbia	36,247	40,459	36.4	98,173	98.49
Prince Edward Island	94,021	108,891	15.8	109,078	0.17
The Territories	.....	56,446	.....	98,967	75.33

How long is this state of affairs to be allowed to continue?

Failure of the National Policy.

When the trade policy of this country was changed from a tariff for revenue to a protective tariff, the change was based upon a resolution moved by the leader of the Conservative party, Sir John A. Macdonald, in the House of Commons, as follows :—

"That this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a national policy, which, by judicious re-adjustment of the tariff, will benefit and prosper the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment now denied them at home, will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada from being a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade." See Hansard, 1878, vol. I., p. 854.)

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCE.

The authors of the National Policy, as anyone may see from their speeches during the election of 1878 and in the budget speeches of the Finance Ministers in subsequent years, made these promises, amongst others: To abolish business depression; to stop the exodus; to turn the "balance of trade" in our favor; to tax British trade in the bulk less than foreign; to give the farmer a home market; to develop our mineral wealth; to obtain reciprocity with the United States; to reduce the debt to $100,000,000 by 1890; to place a million people in the North-West by 1891.

The last feat was to be accomplished only in part by the National Policy.

Not one of these promises have been fulfilled.

TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

As to the taxation of British goods, Sir Leonard in 1879 declared: "It may be said we shall receive from the imports from foreign countries a larger share of the $20,000,000 we require than we shall receive from the mother country. I believe such will be the effect. But I think that in making such a statement to the House, belonging as we do, and forming a part of that great country—a country that receives our natural products without any taxation, everything we have to send her—apart from our national feelings, I think this House will not object, if in the proposition before me the duties touch more heavily the imports from foreign countries than from our fatherland."

The fact is the reverse of what was promised. British goods in the bulk are taxed more severely than American. The duty levied upon the whole of the country's imports of British goods amounted in the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893, to 22 per cent., while the duty levied upon the whole of the imports of American goods amounted to 13½ per cent., a discrimination against England on the whole volume of trade of more than 8 per cent.

REDUCE THE DUTIES ON BRITISH GOODS.

In April, 1892, the following was moved by Hon. L. H. Davies, M.P., and voted for by the Liberals and opposed by the Government :—

"Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada into her ports free of duty, this House is of the opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain should be reduced."

The People's Policy.

During its term of office the Liberal Party strove to advance the interests of the country, and while in opposition with the same end in view—the general good—it has, by resolutions and debates in the House, together with addresses throughout the land, stoutly maintained its principles. The Liberal Party believing in freedom of trade, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience, is progressive in its character. This was strongly exemplified by the National Liberal Convention held at Ottawa, June, 1893, when Liberals from every section of the Dominion assembled, and without any previous arrangements proceeded at once to take council together upon the political situation. The results of their deliberations are embodied in a series of resolutions which contain a re-assertion of the line of policy marked out by the resolutions previously moved in the House and debated. These resolutions form a platform upon which the Liberals in every electoral district from the Atlantic to the Pacific stand. It is not sectional in its scope, it applies to the whole Dominion. The convention is a tribute to the genius of the Liberal party. There was no division or lack of unity, but on the contrary, all who have given thought to and have discussed the different resolutions are united not only on the principles, but upon the details of the policy of the party. Hon. Edward Blake, formerly the Dominion Liberal leader, now a member of the Imperial House of Commons, has written to Mr. A. Younie, then secretary of the West Durham Reform Association as follows: "May I be permitted to say how glad I am to think that the reciprocity resolution of the late Reform Convention has ended the difference which led to the severance of my connection with the riding, and that, no longer to be associated with them as their representative, I am no longer to be divided from them in opinion."

Every one who wishes to know the Liberal platform should read these resolutions. They were framed by the party in convention assembled and form the platform of the party.

Resolutions adopted at the Only National Political Convention ever held in Canada.

We, the Liberal party of Canada, in convention assembled, declare:

1.—Tariff Reform—Freer Trade—Reduced Taxation.

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service;

That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations;

It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property;

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few;

It has checked immigration;

It has caused great loss of population;

It has impeded commerce;

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

In these and in many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people.

That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government.

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessaries of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes; but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.

We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we wait with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

2—Enlarged Markets—Reciprocity.

That, having regard to the prosperity of Canada and the United States as adjoining countries, with many mutual interests, it is desirable that there should be the most friendly relations and broad and liberal trade intercourse between them.

That the interests alike of the Dominion and of the Empire would be materially advanced by the establishing of such relations.

That the period of the old reciprocity treaty was one of marked prosperity to the British North American colonies.

That the pretext under which the Government appealed to the country in 1891 respecting negotiation for a treaty with the United States was misleading and dishonest and intended to deceive the electorate.

That no sincere effort has been made by them to obtain a treaty, but that, on the contrary, it is manifest that the present Government, controlled as they are by monopolies and combines, are not desirous of securing such a treaty.

That the first step towards obtaining the end in view, is to place a party in power who are sincerely desirous of promoting a treaty on terms honorable to both countries.

That a fair and liberal reciprocity treaty would develop the great natural resources of Canada, would enormously increase the trade and commerce between the two countries, would tend to encourage friendly relations between the two peoples, would remove many causes which have in the past provoked irritation and trouble to the Governments of both countries, and would promote those kindly relations between the Empire and the Republic which afford the best guarantee for peace and prosperity.

That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with a view to obtaining such a treaty, including a well considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of Her Majesty's Government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

3.—Purity of Administration—Condemn Corruption.

That the Convention deplores the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of public moneys which for years past has existed under the rule of the Conservative party, and the revelations of which by the different parliamentary Committees of inquiry have brought disgrace upon the fair name of Canada.

The Government, which profited politically by these expenditures of public moneys of which the people have been defrauded, and which, nevertheless, have never punished the guilty parties, must be held responsible for the wrongdoing. We arraign the Government for retaining in office a Minister of the Crown proved to have accepted very large contributions of money for election purposes from the funds of a railway company, which, while paying the political contributions to him, a member of the Government, with one hand, was receiving Government subsidies with the other.

The conduct of the Minister and the approval of his colleagues after the proof became known to them are calculated to degrade Canada in the estimation of the world and deserve the severe condemnation of the people.

4—Demand Strictest Economy—Decreased Expenditure.

We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the Government that has been continuously in power since 1878, and we demand the strictest economy in the administration of the government of the country.

5—For Responsible Government—Independence of Parliament.

That the Convention regrets hat by the action of Ministers and their supporters in Parliament, in one case in which serious charges were made against a Minister of the Crown, investigation was altogether refused, while in another case the charges preferred were altered and then referred to a commission appointed upon the advice of the Ministry, contrary to the well settled practice of Parliament; and this Convention affirms :—That it is the ancient and undoubted right of the House of Commons to inquire into all matters of public expenditure, and into all charges of misconduct in office against Ministers of the Crown, and the reference of such matters to royal commissions created upon the advice of the accused is at variance with the due responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons, and tends to weaken the authority of the House over the Executive Government, and this Convention affirms that the powers of the people's representatives in this regard should on all fitting occasions be upheld.

6.—The Land for the Settler—Not for the Speculator.

That in the opinion of this Convention the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms of settlement, and in such areas as can be reasonably occupied and cultivated by the settler.

7—Oppose the Dominion Franchise Act—Favor the Provincial Franchise.

That the Franchise Act since its introduction has cost the Dominion Treasury over a million of dollars, besides entailing a heavy expenditure to both political parties; That each revision involves an additional expenditure of a further quarter of a million; That this expenditure has prevented an annual revision, as originally intended, in the absence of which young voters entitled to the franchise have, in numerous instances, been prevented from exercising their natural rights; That it has failed to secure uniformity, which was the principal reason assigned for its introduction; That it has produced gross abuses by partizan revising barristers appointed by the Government of the day; That its provisions are less liberal than those already existing in many Provinces of the Dominion, and that in the opinion of this Convention the Act should be repealed, and we should revert to the Provincial Franchise.

8—Against the Gerrymander—County Boundaries should be Preserved.

That by the Gerrymander Acts, the electoral divisions for the return of members to the House of Commons have been so made as to prevent a fair expression of the opinion of the country at the general elections, and to secure to the party now in power a strength out of all proportion greater than the number of electors supporting them would warrant. To put an end to this abuse, to make the House of Commons a fair exponent of public opinion, and to preserve the historic continuity of counties, it is desirable that in the formation of electoral divisions, county boundaries should be preserved, and that in no case parts of different counties should be put in one electoral division.

9.—The Senate Defective—Amend the Constitution.

The present constitution of the Senate is inconsistent with the Federal principal in our system of government, and is in other respects defective, as it makes the Senate independent of the people and uncontrolled by the public opinion of the country, and should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the principles of popular government.

10.—Question of Prohibition—A Dominion Plebiscite.

That whereas public attention is at present much directed to the consideration of the admittedly great evils of intemperance, it is desirable that the mind of the people should be clearly ascertained on the question of Prohibition by means of a Dominion Plebiscite.

THE LIBERAL LEADER.

In Hon. Wilfrid Laurier the Liberal party has a leader worthy to wear the mantle of leadership which has descended in line of succession from such men as Robert Baldwin, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie and Edward Blake. He is a born leader of men,

firm, patient, steadfast of purpose, high minded, liberal in every thought, and thoroughly Canadian in his every ambition and aspiration for this country. His charming eloquence as a speaker is known everywhere in the Dominion. In his oratory, he combines with the direct and practical qualities of the Englishman, æsthetic and magnetic characteristics of the highest attractiveness. Although of French-Canadian origin, a fact in which he takes pardonable pride, he has been a close student of English history, and a follower of English Liberalism. His political principles and love of liberty have come to him through the same fountains from which his fellow Liberals of British origin have drawn their inspiration. As a parliamentarian he is the peer of the most skilful and resourceful of his contemporaries. He has made no mistakes or mis-steps since his accession to the leadership in 1887, either in Parliament or face to face with the people in the country. He fought the general elections in 1891 with a manliness, vigor and temperateness which drew from his opponents words of unusual praise and respect. Since 1887 he has visited Ontario every year at least once, and sometimes oftener, to address the people of this province. In 1894 he not only toured through Ontario, but went to Manitoba, the Territories and British Columbia. He has also made personal acquaintance with the Maritime provinces. Through the means of these visits he has created a profound impression throughout the Dominion, not less by his earnestness, frankness and the vigor which he discusses public affairs than the magnetism of his personality and the brilliance of his eloquence. He has become more than a party chief; he is a national leader to whom Canadians of whatever province, origin, condition or creed look as the exponent of the principles of freedom of trade, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience. For twenty-five years he has been a representative of the people in Parliament. His qualities as a citizen and a statesman have become thoroughly known to the public; and by opponents as well as friends, after this long and severe ordeal, is admitted to be a statesman of broad, liberal and patriotic aspirations, and as a man stands before the people of Canada without fear and without reproach.

In this contest Mr. Laurier asks the people of Canada to declare that government be carried on not for a party but for the country, not for the combines and corporations, but for the plain, unorganized and unsubsidized people. He asks that government shall not combine to be a mere agency for the creation of places and the distribution of offices. He asks the people to declare their condemnation of the enormous increase in the cost of government since 1878, the wanton waste of public money, the Lachine bridge job, the graving dock scandals, the Langevin block robbery, the Little Rapids extravagance, the Tay canal waste, and a hundred other jobs and scandals in all parts of the country. He asks the farmers to say by their votes if they are satisfied that the cost of administration should go up as the prices of their products go down. He asks the workingmen to say if they are satisfied with the policy of making millionaires in a few industries, if they are prospering under the economic system that keeps down wages and keeps up the price of store goods and household necessaries. He asks the manufacturers to say if the value of the tax on their finished product is not more than offset by a limited market, an impoverished people, and heavy taxes on raw material. He asks the fishermen to say if they have received justice under the policy of the Ottawa department. He asks the Canadian people to say if they are satisfied with the lamentable failure of the Government's plans for settling the Northwest, which has cost us so much money. He asks the Canadian people to say that a Government which has wasted the public money and squandered the public patrimony, and a policy which has failed to fulfil one of the promises of its authors, and brought upon the country all the lamentable consequences foretold by its opponents, shall be overthrown; Canada rescued from the domination of the combines, agriculture emancipated, progress stimulated and prosperity restored. Never mind how you voted in past elections. You are not the chattel of any party leader, or the serf of any political organization. Never mind if you were a Government supporter in other days. It is your business now to consider facts as demonstrated in your own experience. When Peel introduced the bill repealing the Corn Laws he answered the taunt of his old followers thus: "I claim for myself the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and of acting upon the results of enlarged experience. It may be supposed—some evidently take it for granted—that it is humiliating to make such an admission. I feel no humiliation. I do not feel abashed at saying that I have been in error. The question is whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and whether the motives for it are pure and disinterested." The man who cannot vote against "his party" for his country is unworthy of the franchise and unfit for citizenship in a free community.